

Northern Illinois University

A TRADITIONAL LAKOTA ZOOLOGICAL FOLK TAXONOMY:

An in depth study of biological and cosmological views of animal
classification and nomenclature among the Lakota

Senior Thesis

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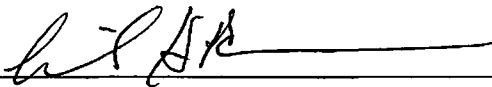
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MITAKUYE OYASIN

(all my relatives/we are all related)

Introduction:

The focus of this work is to record and clarify the traditional views of the Lakota People, in regards to how they name and classify their zoological world. The focus for many ethnozoologists is to study how mankind conceptualizes his natural environment. A number of scholars in ethnozoology have tried to show cross cultural links to possibly explain similarities in the way mankind names and classifies objects in his natural environment. The idea of there being recognizable groupings of animals is found in all languages. These are referred to as ethnozoological categories. According to some scholars (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1973), there are typically five levels of ethnozoological categories and this is the basic model that I will be working from as a reference. These categories are "ranked" in a hierarchical manner. The terms (taxa) are placed at differing levels of inclusion in relation to other taxa. These ethnozoological categories and examples of taxa (from this study) are as follows:

1. **Unique Beginner;** This is the most inclusive ethnozoological category. In this study wamakashkan ("all things that move upon the earth") is the taxa that refers to "animal" in American English.
2. **Life-Form;** This is the second most inclusive ethnozoological category. Life-Forms are not terminal, are labeled by primary lexemes, and are followed by taxa that are also labeled by primary lexemes. In this study zĩṭkala is the taxa that refers to "bird" in American English.
3. **Generic;** This is the third most inclusive ethnozoological category. Generics are labeled by primary and may or may not be terminal. In this study hiṇḥaṇ is the taxa that refers to "owl" in American English.
4. **Specific;** This is the second least inclusive ethnozoological category. Specifics are labeled by secondary lexeme and may or may not be terminal. In this study igmugleza is the taxa that refers to "bobcat" in American English.
5. **Varietal;** This is the least inclusive (most specific) ethnozoological category. Varietals are labeled by secondary lexemes and are terminal. In this study tokala is the taxa referring to "gray fox" in American English.

The ethnozoological categories and the taxa included within each are the zoological folk taxonomy. This specific study does not completely follow the above model. I do, however, believe the model gives us an affective rough outline to begin to understand how we humans conceptually view and classify our zoological world.

In recent years, though the standard of living is still very poor on the Reservations, there has been a huge revitalization and interest in Lakota culture. This is due in part to the reduction of governmental and

missionary control and oppression and the strength and pride of the Lakota People. Now the Lakota can and are willing to talk openly about their beliefs and world views.

The Lakota People typify what the average American thinks of when he/she envisions a Plains Indian. Notable names like Crazy Horse, Red Cloud (Fig. 1), Sitting Bull (Fig. 2), Gall (Fig. 3), Rain in the Face, Big Foot (Fig. 4), American Horse (Fig. 5), Black Elk (Fig. 6), Crow Dog (Fig. 7), Spotted Tail (Fig. 8), Lane Deer (Fig. 9), and Fools Crow (Fig. 10) came from these People. With Their elaborate rituals (Sundance, Fig. 11; Sweat Lodges, Fig. 12; Vision Quest, Fig. 7), regalia (full eagle feather head-dress, Fig. 9 and 10), expert horsemanship, and reliance upon the bison herds (in the past), they captured our imaginations. The Sioux People are the ones that gave the American public the traditional view of the "Peace Pipe" (chanunpa, Fig. 10 and 13) and were dubbed by some as the "Red Knights of the Plains" due to their bravery and codes of honor. The Lakota comprise the seven Western tribes of the Great Sioux Nation (traditional Lakota living range, map 1). These tribes are as follows:

Oglala (Ogalala Oyade), "Scatter One's Own People": That primarily reside on the Pine Ridge Reservation (map 2).

Brulé (Sichangu Oyade), "The Burned Thighs People": That primarily reside on the Lower Brulé and Rosebud Reservations (map 2).

Hunkpapa (Hunkpapa Oyade), "Those Who Camp at the Entrance People": That primarily reside on the Standing Rock Reservation (map 2).

Sans Arc (Itazichola Oyade), "Those Who Have No Bows People": That primarily reside on the Standing Rock Reservation (map 2).

Minnicoujou (Minnicoujou Oyade), "Those Who Plant Near the Water People": That primarily reside on the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Reservations (map 2).

Two Kettles (Ohinupa Oyade), "The Two Boilings People": That primarily reside on the Cheyenne River Reservation (map 2).

Blackfeet (Sihhasapa Oyade), "The Black Moccasin People": That primarily reside on the Cheyenne River Reservation (map 2).

Goal of this study:

The focus of this work is to record and clarify the traditional views of the Lakota People, in regards to how they name and classify their zoological world. Folk taxonomies among the "Plains Tribes" are nearly nonexistent. To better understand and raise cultural awareness is the ultimate outcome of many anthropological studies. This one is not different.

There have been, possibly, countless anthropological studies funded by United States organizations that have taken place in foreign countries. Also, there are many cultures outside the United States borders that we (as American Anthropologists) know better and in more depth than most Native American cultures. This study, (as well as others ongoing on Native American cultures) give us an opportunity to look at the existing cultures and views of Native Americans in a way that may not be available much longer. With previous (and to a certain extent present) governmental and missionary oppression towards cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices, the rich languages, cultures, and religions of many Native American Peoples are being or have been lost. I see no better time than the present (for we cannot change the past) to learn as much as possible about and from these members of our own country.

The Lakota, along with most Native American Peoples, have had the unfortunate experience of almost being eradicated from this planet they love so much. To my knowledge, there has been little work done on understanding how they name and classify the animal world of which they believe to be an integral part of.

I have been involved with/within the Native American community for a major part of my life. I believe it will not only benefit the Lakota People, but I believe it is my duty to inform both the scholarly world and the public of the Lakota's rich and colorful perspectives in this matter. The object of this paper is to examine and illustrate the Lakota zoological folk taxonomy. This traditional taxonomy encompasses a multitude of animal life that are both native to the traditional Lakota living range (map 1) and some introduced species that were/are relevant and adopted by the Lakota. By no means is this a record of all the animals known by all Lakota speakers, but rather a record of the traditional animals and their classifications in the Lakota view.

Methodology:

The methodology I primarily used for this study was first hand accounts from over thirty Lakota consultants. I have been active in the Native American community for a major part of my life and this is my major field of study in anthropology. This study allowed me to not only gather information about the Lakota zoological folk taxonomy, but to spend much time with friends and family. I knew many of the consultants before I embarked on this research and along the way I made many new friends. I also learned a great deal (in addition to how the Lakota view animals). The consultants ranged in age from five to seventy-three. I met with most consultants more than once each, some on an individual basis, others in group settings. Some came to my house, but the majority of my information gathering involved long talks and discussions after inipi, yuwipi, and peyote ceremonies. I also collected information from talking to Lakota speakers at many pow wows and the several Sundances I have attended.

I first elicited terms for animals from consultants. I then cross referenced these with a Lakota-English dictionary (Buechel 1970). Most of the names I found either were not in the dictionary or they differed in some aspect from this reference source. I also used photographs from six National Audubon Society Field Guides, to cross reference the terms I had gathered and to verify/validate the terms given. I did this by covering up the names given in the books and asking different consultants, which names (from those given) corresponded to which animal in question. I then asked, from the terms given and their corresponding pictures, consultants to (if possible) put the animals into any "groups" that they might "fit" into. I had four of my most knowledgeable consultants do this task, on a one-on-one basis so no collaboration was involved. I chose the number four because it is sacred to the Lakota. The findings were remarkably similar. The only animals the consultants did not completely agree on are those presented as fitting into multiple categories given at the end of the taxa list.

The spiritual/cosmological views of the Lakota, in regards to their animal world, were the most difficult to work through. By no means will this work give a complete account of all the animal symbolism, spiritualism, and their manifestations for the Lakota. Rather, it will focus on those matters pertaining to how the Lakota animals spiritualism is utilized in naming and classifying their zoological world.

Zoological groupings by the Lakota may seem alien to those not knowledgeable about the culture and

some explanation is in order before the data is presented. The five groupings of wamakashkan (animal) in Lakota are the Kinȳanpi Oyade (Winged People), Wahudopa Oyade (Fourlegged People), Slohoŋpi Oyade (Crawling People), Nunwanpi Oyade (Swimming People), and Hu'nonpa Oyade (Twolegged People). Though these five groupings are distinct categories for the Lakota, under the heading of wamakashkan, they are not considered Life-Form categories in regards to the folk zoological parameters presented by anthropological scholars like Berlin, Brown, Breedlove, Raven, Witkowski, and others. The data will show distinct categories fall somewhere between the Unique Beginner and Life-Form ethnozoological categories. With that being stated, I will not present my analysis until after the data is presented.

Pronunciation Guide for Lakota Words:

a = a, as in father

e = a, as in day

i = e, as in bee

o = o, as in rope

u = oo, as in root

j = s, as in fission

ŋ = ng, as in sing

g = voiced velar fricative*

Φ = voiceless bilabial fricative*

κ = velar fricative*

h = glottal fricative*

***** = gutturalized

Abbreviations for Terms:

UB = Unique Beginner

LF = Life-Form

G = Generic

S = Specific

TS = Type Specific

V = Varietal

TV = Type Varietal

R = Residual

SPC = Special Purpose Category

BST = Biological Sex Term

MT = Maturation Term

DATA:

Wamakashkan ("all things that move upon the Earth" - animal) UB

Kinyanpi Oyade (Winged People) SPC

1. zinqkala (bird) LF

2. wapatan̄ka (blackbird) G

2a. wablos̄hka (redwinged blackbird) S

2b. wapaḡicha (yellowheaded blackbird) S

2c. wablos̄hka (lark bunting) S

2d. wahpakahota (cowbird) S

2e. chan̄wapatan̄ka (grackle) S

3. gūguyashku/ kan̄su zinqkala/ chan̄pishko (american red start) G

4. zinqkalatoḡleshka (blue jay) G

5. pehan̄ (crane) G

5a. pehan̄gila (sandhill crane) S

5b. pehan̄ska/ pehan̄san̄ (whooping crane) S

6. kangi (crow/raven) G

6a. kangi (crow) TS

6b. kangitan̄ka (raven) S

7. chēelatan̄ka (cuckoo) G

7a. chēelatan̄ka (yellowbilled cuckoo) TS

7b. chēelatan̄ka/ ichokasapa/ shohotōla (blackbilled cuckoo) S

8. wakīnyela (dove/pigeon) G

9. wānbli (eagle) G

9a. wānblipeska (bald eagle) S

9b. wānbliḡleshka (golden eagle/ spotted eagle) S

9c. wānbliisapa (black eagle) S

10. wazi zinqkala (pine finch) G

11. shun̄lata (flicker) G

11a. shun̄zicha (yellow-shafted flicker) S

11b. shun̄luta (red-shafted flicker) S

12. wānbliitaheya (gold finch) G

13. maga (goose) G

13a. magasapa (canadian goose) S

13b. magaska (snow goose/ swan) S

- 13b¹. magaska (snow goose) TV
13b². magaskatan̄ka (swan) V
13c. magashekshechala (brant) S

14. pagon̄da/ shiyagala/ magaksicha (duck) G
14a. pagon̄da/ patoto (mallard duck) TS
14b. pagon̄danawatesa (hooded merganser) S
14c. pagon̄dapasapa (northern pintail duck) S
14d. magashinyan̄la (redheaded/ canvasback duck) S
14e. pagon̄dapato (northern shoveler duck) S
14f. pagon̄dashtasha/ skiska (wood duck) S
14g. pagon̄dablashkato (ruddy duck) S
14h. shiyagla/ shiyaka (teal duck) TS

15. shiyadakala (american dipper) G

16. chehupagleshka (brown thrasher) G

17. makaowan̄ke/ makaowan̄kela/ man̄kazin̄tkala (bobolink) G

18. huΦuwan̄blila (snow bunting) G

19. shkiΦiΦi/ shkiΦiΦla/ chan̄kusapela (chickadee) G

20. wikipizi (yellowbreasted chat) G

21. hin̄hin̄chala (coot) G

22. pakaichichuya (red crossbill) G

23. shiyo/ chan̄shiyo (grouse) G
23a. shiyochikala (bobwhite quail) S
23b. chan̄shiyo (sharp-tailed grouse) TS
23c. wazishiyo (spruce grouse) S
23d. shiyo/ shiyoka/ makablula (prairie chicken) TS
23e. shiyositupiyela (ringnecked pheasant) S
23f. shiyowasichun̄ (domestic chicken) S

24. hoka (heron) G
24a. hokato (great blue heron) S
24b. hokaqicha (green heron) S
24c. hokaska (great egret) S
24d. hokagleshka (american bittern) S
24e. hokahota (black-crowned night heron) S

25. tanaqila (hummingbird) G

26. hoyazela/ zozoka (belted kingfisher) G
26a. hoyazelatan̄ka (large belted kingfisher) TS
26b. hoyazelachikala (small belted kingfisher) TS

27. wokichon̄za/ wasnasnahecha (kingbird) G

28. pehinchichila/ ptehinchichila (killdeer) G
29. chedan/ chanshka (hawk) G
- 29a. wakinyanha (sharp-shinned hawk/ cooper's hawk) S
 - 29a¹. wakinyanha (sharp-shinned hawk) TV
 - 29a². wakinyanhatahka (cooper's hawk) V
 - 29b. chedanatahka/ chanshkasapela (chicken hawk) S
 - 29c. pishko (night hawk) S
 - 29d. chanshkahoyazela/ zozoka (osprey) S
 - 29e. chedanleshka (red-shouldered hawk) S
 - 29f. chanshkaunpigi (red-tailed hawk/ harlan's hawk) S
 - 29f¹. chanshkaunpigi (red-tailed hawk) TV
 - 29f². chanshkaunpigla (harlan's hawk) V
 - 29g. ptegopecha (northern harrier/ marsh hawk) S
 - 29h. chedanala/ chanshkachikala (american kestrel) S
 - 29i. chanshka (rough-legged hawk) TS
 - 29j. chedanhotatahka (northern goshawk) S
 - 29k. chanshkahotagleshka (gyrfalcon) S
30. istanichatahka (lark) G
- 30a. mashtekola (horned lark) S
 - 30b. jiapela/ tashiyagnunpa (meadow lark) S
31. bles/ bleza/ bloza/ bdoza/ huntku (loon) G
- 31a. huntku (double-crested cormorant) TS
32. winapinla/ halhate/ unchekeihe (blackbilled magpie) G
33. shkeluta (oriole) G
34. hinhan (owl) G
- 34a. hinhanleshka (barn owl) S
 - 34b. hinhanan (barred owl) S
 - 34c. hinhanhota (great gray owl) S
 - 34d. hinhanasapa (black owl) S
 - 34e. hinhanmakotila (burrowing owl) S
 - 34f. hinhanas (great horned owl) S
 - 34f¹. hinhanas (great horned owl) TV
 - 34f². hinhanasatahka (large great horned owl) V
 - 34g. hinhankapipila (long-eared owl) S
 - 34h. hinhanchikala (short-eared owl) S
 - 34i. hinhanaska (snowy owl) S
 - 34j. ungnagichala/ popotka (screech owl) S
35. blega (american white pelican) G
- 35a. bloza (grayish-black pelican) S
36. chanpan (pie-billed grebe) G
37. wihatankala/ winyantazinkala (gull) G
38. shishoka (robin) G

39. maniopawakinyela (spotted sandpiper) G
40. ihuhaotila/ pachanshihuta (sparrow) G
 40a. pachanshihuta (english sparrow) TS
 40b. siduΦiahatetonpi (lark sparrow) S
 40c. zinqschila (tree sparrow/ chirping sparrow) S
41. ichapapshinshinchela (swallow) G
 41a. huhuchanşakala (bank swallow) S
 41b. ichapshinshinchalaikpisa (barn swallow/ tree swallow) S
 41b¹. ichapshinshinchalaikpisa (barn swallow) TV
 41b². upijata (tree swallow) V
42. wagiogi/ nahan/ chanugyasa (thrush) G
43. waglekshun (wild turkey) G
 43a. waglekshunşka (domestic turkey) S
44. hecha (turkey vulture) G
45. situpwanblila (black and white warbler) G
46. Φakoshkala (whip-poor-will) G
47. toskala/ wagnuka (woodpecker) G
 47a. toskala (downy woodpecker/ hairy woodpecker) TS
 47a¹. toskala (hairy woodpecker) TV
 47a². chanşinhahpu (downy woodpecker) V
 47b. wagnuka/ wahnunşka (red-headed woodpecker) TS
 47c. wagnukatanşka (pileated woodpecker) S
48. kankecha (woodcock) G
49. chanhiyala (wren) G
 49a. chanhiyala (house wren) TS
 49b. hlahlaiyognaka (marsh wren) S
 49c. iğugaotila (rock wren) S
50. zinqkalazila (yellow bird) R
51. zinqkalazilachikala (small yellow bird) R
52. zinqkalato (blue bird) R
53. zinqkalasha/ zinqkalaluta (red bird) R
- For all bird taxa, zinqkala can be shortened to zinqka without changing the meaning of the term.
 - All bird taxa are included within both special purpose categories, Kinşanpi Oyade (Winged People) and Hu'nonpa Oyade (Twolegged People).

54. wablushka (insect) LF

55. tuhmaga/ tuhmunga/ wichayajipa (bee/ hornet) G
55a. tuhmungachanhanpi/ tuhungatunkche (honey bee) S
55b. tuhmugstanika (bumble bee) S
55c. tuhmagahonska (wasp) S

56. kimimila/ kimimela (butterfly) G
56a. kimimilagleshka (monarch butterfly) S
56b. kimimilatanika (large butterfly) R
56c. kimimilasapa (black butterfly) R
56d. kimimilaska (white butterfly) R
56e. kimimilato (blue, purple, or green butterfly) R
56f. kimimilasha (red butterfly) R
56g. kimimilazi (yellow butterfly) R
56h. wanagitakimimila (moth) R

57. mahawanlaka (cicada) G

58. tuswecha/ suablecha (dragonfly) G
58a. tuswechato (blue dragonfly) R
58b. tuswechasha (red dragonfly) R
58c. tuswechatankagleshka (large speckled dragonfly) R
58d. tuswechatankazizi (large yellow dragonfly) R

59. tehmunga/ honahila (fly) G
59a. tatawumblushka (horsefly/ deerfly) S
59b. honahinateshka (sandfly) S

60. wonjicha/ wanyecha (firefly) G

61. tannichala (gnat) G

62. gnugnushka/ psipsichala (grasshopper) G
62a. anhetachagu (large grasshopper/ locust) R
62b. ahetachagu (grasshopper with black inner wings) R
62c. ahesha (grasshopper with red inner wings) R
62d. ahezi (grasshopper with yellow inner wings) R

63. chaFunika (mosquito) G

- All insects are included within either Kinyanpi Oyade (Winged People) or Slohonpi Oyade (Crawling People).

64. taFichape/ hupakigulake/ hupahuwakeglakehla (bat) G

- Bats are only included within the special purpose category Kinyanpi Oyade (Winged People).

WahudoՓա Oyade (Fourlegged People) SPC

Heton Oyade (Horned People) SPC

65. tahcha (deer) G

65a. tahincha/ siṇdiaasaՓela (mule deer/ black-tailed deer) S

65a'. tahinchaidoptasapa (mule deer with a black streak across its face) V

65b. tahinchala/ siṇdihanṣka (white-tailed deer) S

65b'. siṇdilulyapi (white-tailed deer with a reddish tail) V

i. tabloka (buck) BST

ii. tahejada (fork buck) BST & MT

iii. hakaza (spike buck) BST & MT

iv. tahawinyela (doe) BST

v. tingleshka/ tachiṇchala (fawn) MT

66. hechiṇshkayapi/ chinyapi (bighorn sheep) G

67. tatokala/ tachasaṇla/ hetonchikala/ negesaṇla (pronghorn antelope) G

68. hehaka (bull elk) G & BST

69. unpaṇ (female elk) G & BST

70. pte (american bison/ buffalo) G

70a. pte (female bison) TS & BST

70b. tataṇka (bull bison) S & BST

i. ptejiṇchala (new born bison calf) MT

ii. ptehiṇchala (bison calf) MT

iii. ptesaṇ (white female bison) BST

71. tah/ hehakiktomi (moose) G

72. ptewasichuṇ (cattle) G

72a. pteglesshka (tame cattle) S

72b. ptewatogla (wild cattle) S

i. ptebloka (steer) BST

ii. ptewinyan (cow) BST & MT

iii. ptemakichima (heifer) BST & MT

72c. ptewakiṇ/ pteokichshka (oxen) S

- All the above terms, under the heading of Heton Oyade (Horned People), are included within WahudoՓա.

WahudoՓա Otade continued/ those without horns

73. shuṇka (dog) G

i. shuṇkabloka (male dog) BST

ii. shuṇkawi/ shuṇkawinyan (bitch) BST

iii. shuṇkhpata (puppy) MT

- 73a. shuḡila (fox) S
 73a¹. shuḡila (red fox) TV
 73a². tokala (gray fox) V
 73a³. miyahcha (kit fox) V
 73b. shuḡtokacha/ shuḡkmanitutaḡka (gray wolf/ timber wolf) S
 73c. shuḡkmanitu/ miyashlecha (coyote) S
 73d. shuḡkawakan/ tashuḡka (horse) S
 73d¹. shuḡkagleshka (apolusa) V
 73d*1. shuḡhiḡikcheka (dark bay horse) R
 73d*2. shuḡhiḡsha (sorrel horse) R
 73d*3. shuḡhiḡpahin/ shuḡhiḡto (gray horse) R
 73d*4. shuḡhiḡstan (chestnut horse) R
 73d*5. shuḡhiḡzi (buckskin horse) R
 73d*6. shuḡhiḡzisha (orange horse) R
 73d*7. shuḡḡakoΦoḡi (brown eared horse) R
 73d*8. shuḡnigni (wild horse) R
 i. shuḡbloka (stallion) BST & MT
 ii. shuḡkwiḡyela (mare) BST & MT
 iii. shuḡkchiḡchala (colt) MT
 iv. shuḡkhiḡumuya (two year old colt) MT
 v. hechhenichala (yearling colt) MT
 73e. shuḡkḡhula (pony) S
 73f. shuḡkshuḡkikipisaḡ (donkey) S
 73g. shuḡshuḡkla (mule) S

- All horses, donkeys, and mules are included within the Generic category shuḡka (dog).

74. kukushi (pig) G

75. igmu/ igmushuḡkala/ Φuzala (cat) G
 75a. igmushuḡka (domestic cat) R
 i. igmula (kitten) MT
 75b. igmuzela (bobcat) S
 75c. igmuḡhota (lynx) S
 75d. igmutaḡka/ igmuwatogla (mountain lion) S

76. mato (bear) G

- 76a. matoḡhota/ matoshake/ matoshakehaḡska (brown bear/ grizzly bear) S
 76b. matowaḡesicha/ matosapa (black bear) S
 76c. matoska (polar bear) S

77. wicha/ wichiteḡleshka (raccoon) G

78. maka (skunk) G

79. ptaḡ (otter) G

80. hoka/ hokala (badger) G

81. shkecha (weasel) G

- 81a. shkecha/ lochinaḡ/ ikusaḡ (mink) S
 81b. ituḡkala/ hituḡashaḡ (ermine) S

- 81c. idopasapa (black-footed ferret) S
- 81d. mapashkecha/ wahanşhecha (martin) S
- 81e. shkechataŋka (wolverine) S

82. wakigesha (shrew) G

83. mashdiŋcha/ mashdiŋkala/ mashdiŋsapa (rabbit/ hare) G

83a. mashdiŋska (jackrabbit) S

84. pahin/ pahin (porcupine) G

85. champa/ chapa (beaver) G

86. siŋkΦela/ siŋkΦe/ wasiŋkΦe (muskrat) G

87. hekashala (groundhog/ woodchuck) G

88. hetkala/ zicha (squirrel) G

88a. hetkala/ pispizi (ground squirrel) TS

88b. hetkala/ itetakala/ tashnahacha (chipmunk) TS

88c. tashnahahchaiyechechagigi (13-lined ground squirrel) S

88d. zicha (eastern fox squirrel) TS

88e. zichahota (eastern gray squirrel) S

88f. pipsiŋza/ pinzela/ ΦiΦsiza (prairie dog) S

89. itignila/ wahiŋkeka (gopher) G

89a. itignila/ wahiŋhaya (pocket gopher) TS

90. hituŋkala (mouse) G

90a. ituŋpsichala/ hituŋkalasapa/ paŋgignakapi (field mouse/ meadow vole) S

90b. psipsichalasapa (western jumping mouse) S

90c. iŋtuntaŋka/ siŋteshla (rat) S

Slohoŋpi Oyade (Crawling People) SPC

54. wablushka (insect) LF

91. womblushkala (beetle) G

91a. sipawichayaksa (common black ground beetle) S

91b. maŋatashuŋpe (whirligig beetle) S

91c. uŋchepagmigma (tumble bug) S

91d. wombluluta (ladybug) S

92. wablushkatiyoshlo (cricket) G

92a. gnugnushkasapa (field cricket) S

92b. pteŋopecha/ tiyoshlowla (mormon cricket) S

93. tajushka/ tashushka/ tablushkala (ant) G

94. hala/ psichala (flea) G

94a. halashasha (red flea) S

94b. halablashka (bed bug) S

95. heya (louse) G

i. hejanjan/ hiŋtka (nit/ unhatched louse) MT

- All insects are included either within Kinyanpi Oyade or Slohonpi Oyade.

96. taskakΦa (wood tick) G

97. iktomi (spider) G

98. wabdushkala (caterpillar) G & MT

98a. azewichahahinshma (black caterpillar) R & MT

98b. wabdushkazitotaŋka (large green caterpillar) R & MT

99. wahachanƙa/ mniwamunuhla (snail) G

100. waglula (worm) G

100a. waglula (maggot/ small grub) TS & MT

100b. wumdushkala (earth worm) S

100c. datingleshka (intestinal worms) S

101. zuzecha (snake) LF

102. wanƣo (blue racer) G

103. wanƣ/ wanƣleshka (bullsnake) G

104. minimahezuzecha (watersnake) G

105. zuzechablashka (western hognose snake) G

106. wagleza (garter snake) G

107. sinƣehla (rattle snake) G

107a. sinƣehla (prairie rattle snake) TS

107b. sinƣehlasapa (timber rattle snake) S

Nunwanpi Oyade (Swimming People) SPC

108. hogan (fish) LF

109. hosapa/ hohosapa (black bass/ largemouth and smallmouth) G

110. hoson (carp) G

111. howasapa (catfish) G

112. howombdushka/ zuzechahogan (eel) G

113. hoganblashka (bluegill/ sunfish) G

114. hoblashka/ hoblushka (shad) G

115. hoiwota (sucker) G

115a. hoapheshka (redhorse sucker) S

116. tamahe/ hogleshka (grasspike) G

116a. hogleshkatan̄ka (northern pike) S

117. hozizila (yellow perch) G

118. hopatan̄kala (walleye) G

119. howechoshtashne (trout/ salmon) G

120. hopepe (stoneroller) G

121. hoganwakan (porpoise/ dolphin) G

122. hogantan̄ka (whale) G

- Whales and porpoises are included within the Life-Form heading hogan (fish) due to morphological criteria and the lack of cultural interaction with them.

123. tusla/ tuvsla (leech) G

124. tuki (clam) G

125. honagila/ howitkala/ hoshon̄pepe (tadpole) G & MT

Hu'non̄pa Oyade (Twolegged People) SPC

1. zint̄kala (bird) LF

- All birds are included within both Kin̄yan̄pi Oyade and Hu'non̄pa Oyade.

126. ikchewichasha/ ikche oyade (common/ real/ wild people or Native Americans) G

127. wasichun (Europeans/ whiteman) G

128. hasapa (Africans or people of African descent) G

- Humans are only included within Hu'non̄pa Oyade.

Animals that are included within more than one of the special purpose categories, other than birds and insects:

- 129. agleshka/ agleshkala (lizard) G
- 129a. agleshkala (skink) TS
- 129b. agleshkahlogecha (eastern short-horned lizard) S
- 129c. telanquwe (northern earless lizard) S

- All lizards are included within both WahudoΦa Oyade and Slohonpi Oyade.

- 130. gnashka (frog) G
- 130a. gnashkataruka (bullfrog) S
- 130b. gnashkacharli (treefrog) S
- 130c. mapiha/ witaPhiha (toad) S

- All frogs and toads are included within WahudoΦa Oyade, Slohonpi Oyade, and Nunwanpi Oyade.

- 131. keya (turtle) G
- 131a. tatasha (yellow mud turtle) S
- 131b. kenuhunjia/ kenuhumja (softshell turtle) S
- 131c. keyasamna (snapping turtle) S
- 131d. keglezela/ patkasa (painted turtle) S
- 131e. kesamna (stinkpot turtle) S
- 131f. kecharha (blanding's turtle) S
- 131g. keharla (false map turtle) S
- 131h. keskokpa (western box turtle) S

- Except for keskokpa, all turtles are included within WahudoΦa Oyade, Slohonpi Oyade, and Nunwanpi Oyade.
- Keskokpa is only included within WahudoΦa Oyade and Slohonpi Oyade.

- 132. madushka/ madugla/ madogna (crayfish/ crawfish) G

- Crayfish/ crawfish are included within Nunwanpi Oyade and Slohonpi Oyade.

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND FIELD NOTES:

Intellectual curiosity vs. practicality; Berlin vs. Hunn

According to Berlin (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1973), people name objects in their environment on the premise of intellectual curiosity. Because humans are inquisitive by nature, we name and categorize objects in our environment. Hunn argues (Hunn 1982), that though he agrees humans are inquisitive by nature, we tend to name objects due to their utilitarian or practical value. Several examples of each of these are presented below.

Several of my older consultants agreed with the concept that many names come from intellectual challenges rather than utilitarianism. One example of this is how Lakota children are encouraged to name things themselves. When children are outside playing or exploring and see an animal they are not familiar with, they are inclined to make up a name for it. The premise behind this is the deep spiritualism the Lakota have in relation to animals. Many Lakota believe humans and animals can and do communicate in both a physical and spiritual manner. According to these beliefs, the name that the child "chooses" may have sacred significance. This could create a sacred bond between the human and the animal. The knowledge gained from such an encounter could benefit the person for the rest of his/her life. Some of the powers/knowledge gained might include; imperviousness to sickness, the ability to foresee the future, strength in battle, knowledge of specific medicines, the ability to "shape-shift", the ability to confuse one's enemies etc. According to one consultant, "The truly blessed person doesn't make up a name. The name is given to them by the animal itself". Lakota children naming unfamiliar animals is still practiced today, especially on the reservations. Obviously, it is not practiced as heavily in current times as in the past. This is due to the "American" school regiment that most young Lakota have to learn.

Children are not the only members of Lakota society that can/do communicate with animals. Some adults do this on a fairly regular basis. This could happen during a Sundance, an individual vision quest, or a number of other occurrences. An example of this, that I have heard at many "gatherings", ceremonies, and "story-tellings" is how the father of the great Tatan̄ka Yotan̄ka (Sitting Bull) acquired this name. Sitting Bull's father was on a hunting expedition. He and his companions came upon a lone bull bison. This bull,

as the story goes, gave the man three names (Sitting Bull, Standing Bull, and Jumping Bull). The man recognized the sacredness of what had occurred. The bull had shared power with the human and made a bond with not only the man, but with whomever bore those names. Hence, Sitting Bull became one of the greatest leaders and holy men of the Lakota. Examples like this illustrate the very intimate bond the Lakota have with their zoological world.

Is there a practical or utilitarian motive behind children naming or conversing with animals? In the Lakota view, children are seen as being pure and innocent until they reach puberty. I posed the idea of the children being told, by adults, to name unfamiliar animals. By doing this, the child would unknowingly be blessed by the animal (and its archetypal spirit) and possibly the blessings would be of benefit to the whole village or tribe. The general attitude, of the group I asked about this, was that they had not really thought about it like that before. Several of the older consultants almost seemed outraged that someone would accuse them of “using” their children in such an “improper” way. One consultant said “This would anger the spirits.” and “They would not help if we did this.”. Also during the same discussion I interviewed a younger Lakota (mid-twenties), who was a college student. He had studied psychology (the “Western” psychology that is taught in American universities). He agreed with the rest of the group but said he could not rule out the possibility of “subconscious” motives on the adults part. Some of the older consultants laughed and teased him for being “brain-washed”. Others took the chance to re-explain the Lakota view of reality to him. So, the argument concerning why children are encouraged to name unfamiliar animals seems to support Berlin’s intellectualism stance.

However, consider the example of *shun̄ka wakan̄* (horse). One could say that the term is derived from the two roots; *shun̄ka* (dog) and *wakan̄* (sacred). Several consultants explained that the term stands for “an animal a man can ride is sacred”. In this context, the name was given out of purely the practical or utilitarian fact that dogs were the only beasts of burden the Lakota had known of before the introduction of the horse. So, the term was derived from combining the name of the quintessential beast of burden with that of special quality. This naming tactic, linking the horse to the dog is very typical among most Native American Peoples. If most Native Americans follow this pattern of nomenclature, then it seems generally to be of a utilitarian or practical origin.

UNIQUE BEGINNER:

In a biological folk taxonomy, the ethnozoological category Unique Beginner is the most inclusive. In many zoological folk taxonomies there is not a term for the Unique Beginner. The concept of "animal" might be obviously present, but not actually encoded. The Lakota did encode this category. Wamakashkan is the Lakota term that refers to "all things that move upon the Earth". For the Lakota there is a fundamental separation of the animal world from the plant and non-organic worlds. Some could argue, plant life also "moves" and that the Lakota know this (and they do). The Lakota see all things (animals, plants, and non-organic objects) as being "alive" and having a "spirit". The criteria that sets the animal world apart from the other two are the "quality of breath" and "movement". The Lakota believe that "movement" was given to all the wamakashkan by Taku Skan Skan ("that mysterious moving power that allows life to happen"). The gift of "breath" was bestowed by Tade (the Wind). As stated above, the Lakota recognize everything as being alive and having a spirit, but some are animate and others are not. Wamakashkan is the Lakota term for animate creatures. This encompasses all of animal life; from bison to fleas, from eagles to humans, from spiders to clams.

One of my older consultants commented that though animals and plants do "move", in one fashion or another, the power of that movement is accentuated by the power of breath in the wamakashkan. He went on to say, though plants do move (typically towards Wi, the sun), they cannot "thwart" the will of Tade (the Wind). Animals, having been blessed with breath, can and do "thwart" and are known to exploit the Wind. He said he sees birds, deer, insects etc. using the Wind to their advantage and moving against it all the time. He then asked us when the last time was that we saw a seed role or fly against the Wind. "Only the wamakashkan can move against the wind and spread our young up-wind from where we started." He also commented on the concept of breath being a frailty. Because the wamakashkan move and breath, our life-spans are short compared to plants and non-organics. His ending statement summed it all up, "Trees live longer than men, and Inyan (stone) lives forever".

SPECIAL PURPOSE CATEGORIES:

The following terms; Kinyanpi Oyade (Winged People), WahudoΦa Oyade (Fourlegged People),

Slohoŋpi Oyade (Crawling People), Nuŋwaŋpi Oyade (Swimming People), and Hu'nonpa Oyade (Twollegged People) are general animal categories that resemble Life-Form taxa of folk biological classification. By Hunn's interpretation (Hunn 1982), special purpose categories are those that have one especially important feature. An example of this would be vegetable (in American English). The one especially important feature that all vegetables have (compared to other plants) is that they are edible. The first four special purpose categories (named above) are primarily used when the Lakota talk about the animal world in biological terms. The last special purpose category term mentioned (Hu'nonpa Oyade), is most typically used in ceremonial and spiritual language to emphasize the special bond between birds and humans.

One discussion I had with consultants, on the Pine Ridge Agency, focused on the above special purpose category. Though the term Hu'nonpa Oyade (Twollegged People) has physical/morphological connotations, there is a much deeper/ spiritual bond between birds and humans than between humans and other animals. This may imply that the Lakota first encoded the term Hu'nonpa Oyade out of physical likeness between birds and humans. Then, spiritual connotations were added to validate the special bond between the two. The origin of the term most likely predates the Lakota arriving to the Plains (if in fact they did not arrive until the mid to late sixteenth century A.D.). The Nakota and Dakota (the two eastern divisions of the Great Sioux Nation) also use the term Hu'nonpa Oyade to classify birds and humans together. Some modern historians like Waldman (Waldman 1985) believe the three divisions of the Great Sioux Nation were already separated by the time they reached the Great Plains. If we assume this to be true, the term must predate the arrival of the Sioux to the Plains.

The cosmological beliefs of the Lakota (in regards to the bond between birds and humans) are so deeply engrained , it seems odd that a brief 200 years would have such a gripping effect on a culture. The Lakota have a spiritual bond with all of existence, but their bond with birds is so strong that a large amount of their oral traditions illustrate it. One common belief has to do with many of the dances the Lakota perform for ceremonies. It is believed that the prairie chicken (shiyo, shiyoka, and makublula are the three terms given to me as designating prairie chicken) taught the Lakota the "proper" way to dance, for certain rites.

The morphological similarity of birds and humans (both walk on two legs) and the Lakota's recognition

of this also addresses a universal phenomenon. By including themselves within one of these special purpose categories, the Lakota not only legitimate their bond with the rest of the animal world, but fulfill the human psychological need to rationalize our own place in existence.

Animals included within the special purpose category Kinȳanpi Oyade (Winged People) have wings and are primarily seen as flying creatures. There are some animals that do have wings and are not included in this group (flying ants, crickets, most beetles etc.). Those animals with wings that are not included among the Kinȳanpi Oyade are perceived as not being able to use the power of Tade (the Wind) to the extent of those that are included within that category. This concept of having an elevated association with Tade (the Wind) also separates birds from humans.

Tade, in Lakota belief, is the Wind and father of the four winds that “hold the four sacred directions”. Though an in depth study of this concept will not be presented in this work, I believe it is important to mention it to illustrate its importance in relation to how the Lakota view their animal world.

Tade is the father of Yata (the North Wind), Yanpa (the East Wind), Okaka (the South Wind), Eya (the West Wind), and Yumnimni (the whirl-wind or “dust-devil”). Each of the four cardinal directions corresponds to one of the latter and is associated with an archetypical bird. The West Wind is associated with waȳblisapa (the black eagle). The exact species of eagle, in relation to “western” scientific classification, is never commented on out of respect for its sacredness. The powers of the West Wind are renewal by purifying rains and thunder. The North Wind is associated with waȳblipeska (the bald eagle). The powers of the North Wind are procreation, health, and control. The South Wind is associated with pehaȳska (the white crane or whooping crane). The powers of the South Wind are rebirth, and a source of renewed life and destiny. The East Wind is associated with waȳbligleshka (the spotted eagle or golden eagle). The powers of the East Wind are thanksgiving, wisdom, and understanding. This is not to say that other animals do not have cosmological affiliations with the differing winds, because some do. The three eagles and one crane mentioned above are the primary symbols for the four winds, for the Lakota. So, though all the Kinȳanpi Oyade can fly and this is used as a defining criterion for placement within this classification, it is not the primary criterion of this category. The defining criterion is to what extent the animal can use the Wind.

The Lakota special purpose category WahudoΦa Oyade (Fourlegged People) has Heton Oyade (Horned People) as a special purpose category included within it. The criterion separating the Heton Oyade from the other WahudoΦa Oyade is that they either have horns (bison, antelope, bighorn sheep) or antlers (deer, elk, moose etc.). The Lakota know that horns are hollow and antlers are not. The Lakota used these differing "head-gears" to make a great variety of differing cultural implements. When it comes to inclusion (of these large herbivores) within this special purpose category, the distinction (between horns and antlers) is not made. The aspect of the males of the species having "head-gear" is the criterion for this naming. Though the females of some of the included species (deer, elk, moose) do not acquire "head-gear", they are still seen as belonging to this category. There is a definite separation between those species (included within WahudoΦa Oyade) that do acquire "head-gear" and those that do not. Though the animals included within Heton Oyade were the primary large game animals that fed the Lakota, this does not mean they take precedence over the others of the WahudoΦa Oyade in cultural or cosmological importance.

The Lakota classification WahudoΦa Oyade derives from the morphological characteristic of being quadrupedal. This category encompasses most mammals (except for bats, whales, and porpoises), turtles, and lizards. This basic division of the Lakota's zoological world, by a morphological criterion, is rationalized (in this case) by the animals having the same number of legs as there are sacred directions (four). A cosmological explanation of this was given to me, by a consultant, at the 1998 Anna Sundance. The story of how the White Buffalo Calf Maiden brought the chanunpa (sacred pipe) to the People is recounted many times and at many ceremonies. The Lakota believe the four legs of the bison symbolize not only the four sacred directions, but the four ages of existence also. The linguistic use of the term WahudoΦa Oyade is typically used when:

1. The Lakota are talking about animals of the four main special purpose categories in a general manner: Example; "Mato is the chief of the masculine WahudoΦa Oyade." This often happens when stories are being told.
2. The Lakota are performing ceremonies and talking in the "ceremonial" speech: Example; "Take pity on this humble and frail human being. Oh Great Mato, chief medicine spirit, chief of the WahudoΦa Oyade, help me heal the sick."

Slohonpi Oyade (Crawling People) is the special purpose category that encompasses snakes, most insects, worms, snails, arachnids, caterpillars, grubs etc. (see data for complete listings). Except for zuzecha

(snake), this category seems to fit nicely into Brown's Life-Form category of Wug (Brown 1979). Slohonpi Oyade also encompasses a large portion of wablushka (insect) which, like snake, is itself a Life-Form. There are two criteria used in defining inclusion within Slohonpi Oyade. From discussions with consultants, the behavioral criterion (where they live and mode of locomotion) seems to take precedence over the morphological criterion (being small of size). Clarification of this can be seen in the size of differing animals from all five of the main special purpose categories (see data). Chief Wallace Black Elk commented that the creatures included within Slohonpi Oyade lived close to the ground and in holes, such as spiders, snakes, lizards, and most insects. Also, all creatures included within Slohonpi Oyade have strong ties to the ground and earth, but this is not used as a defining criterion for inclusion in this category.

The special purpose category Nunwanpi Oyade (Swimming People) includes aquatic animals. Nunwanpi Oyade, like Slohonpi Oyade, seems to be based on behavioral rather than morphological criteria. All of the consultants I questioned about this agreed that all animals require water to live. Many also said that some animals are dependant upon a water environment to survive. However, this does not necessarily mean that they are included within Nunwanpi Oyade. Ptaŋ (otter), champa (beaver), maga (goose), and minimahazuzecha (water snake) all require a water environment to survive, but are not included within Nunwanpi Oyade. The behavioral criterion for inclusion within Nunwanpi Oyade is not "all creatures that can swim", as the name implies. More precisely, it is having the ability to breath water.

The Lakota believe there is an extreme mysticism associated with the Nunwanpi Oyade. The recognition for mini (water) and the beings that live within water is recounted and reaffirmed at every Lakota ceremony (no matter how elaborate or not the ceremony might be). the Lakota hold the Nunwanpi Oyade in reverence because they live a very mystical and alien existence that most animals, including human beings, can never completely know.

LIFE-FORMS:

Life-Form terms of the Lakota, as defined by Brown (1984), are zuzecha (snake), ziŋtkala (bird), hogan (fish), and wablushka (insect). This follows in line with Brown's hypothesis of implicational relationships.

Brown states that if a language has a term encoded for wug (bug/worm), then it also has snake, fish, and

bird encoded. This is to say that either fish, snake, or bird was encoded first, second, and then third (in no particular order) and only then was the term wug encoded. Brown also states that a term referring to mammal is always last to be encoded in a language. Though this is just the study of one language (and actually just the dialect of that language), it still supports Brown's theory of implicational relationships.

The Life-Form term *ziŋtkala* (bird) is based on the criteria of having feathers, a beak/bill, being bipedal, and having an elevated affiliation to Tade (the Wind). It is included within the two special purpose categories, *Kiŋyaŋpi Oyade* (Winged People) and *Hu'nonpa Oyade* (Twolegged People).

The Life-Form term *wablushka* (insect) is partially listed under the special purpose category *Kiŋyaŋpi Oyade*, and partially under *Slohoŋpi Oyade*. Those included within *Kiŋyaŋpi Oyade* have a special or elevated affiliation with/to Tade (the Wind). For further clarification, refer back to these two special purpose categories. *Wablushka* includes only "true" insects, except for *heya* (louse). Arachnids and other similar creatures are not included within *wablushka*.

The Life-Form term *hogan* (fish) encompasses not only "true" fish, but porpoises and whales also. This is most likely due to the fact that, though porpoises and whales were named by all of my consultants and all had seen them (either in person or in the media), the Lakota did not have direct cultural contact with porpoises and whales to separate them from "true" fish. In terms of gross morphology, these marine mammals and "true" fish are similar. They all have stream-line bodies, fins/flippers, and live in water. It is easy to see the correlation and reason for such encoding.

The Life-Form term *zuzecha* (snake) only encompasses "true" snakes. The only other term that uses the "root" *zuzecha*, in Lakota, is *zuzechahogan* (eel). The Lakota see *zuzechahogan* as a fish that resembles a snake. Though there are morphological similarities, *zuzechahogan* is not seen as a snake. There is a definite understanding of the "essence" of snakes for the Lakota. *Zuzecha* are long, thin, legless, scaled creatures that breathe air and primarily live on land.

As noted above, the Lakota have encoded four Life-Form terms. There have been correlations made between the number of Life-Form terms encoded for a language and the two factors of social complexity and distance from an original parent language. Brown defines Life-Form growth, in relation to social complexity as:

"Languages with three or fewer zoological Life-Forms (stages 1-3) are usually spoken by peoples living in small scale societies lacking the complex political integration, social stratification, and technical elaboration of those who speak languages having four or more zoological Life-Form terms (stages 4 and 5)." Brown p. 804, 1979.

Brown also explains that as a people urbanize and become less dependant upon plants and animals, the number of Life-Forms increase in their linguistic taxonomic structure. This is known as taxonomic devolution. The decay of biological taxonomies typically starts at the most specific (least inclusive) and works its way toward the least specific (most inclusive). This phenomenon entails the loss of not only terms for the animals, but possibly the knowledge of the animal itself. Taxonomic devolution would account for a larger number of less specific (more inclusive) terms like Life-Form terms.

So, according to Brown, the Lakota dialect would be at stage four of the Life-Form growth parameter. This would mean that the Lakota had/have a rather complex society. If one tracks the Lakota People, as an evolving entity (as put forth by most modern historians), the Lakota style/way of living seems to have gone from a nomadic/hunter-gathering (paleo) way of life, to a more sedentary (small game and farming) way of life, and back to a nomadic/hunter-gathering (paleo) life style. This seems to be in the reverse order of most social evolution around the globe. The return to a more paleo life style does not mean the Lakota society, as a whole, was any less complex than other societies that lived adjacent to it. Other Native American Peoples that the Lakota had interactions with exhibit differing stages of Life-Form growth. Some examples are:

- 1. Lakota (Siouian): stage 4**
- 2. Crow (Siouian): stage 2**
- 3. Osage (Siouian): stage 4**
- 4. Omaha (Siouian): stage 4**
- 5. Hidatsa (Siouian): stage 3**
- 6. Plains Winnebago (Siouian): stage 4**
- 7. Minnesota Ojibwa (Algonquian): stage 5**
- 8. Nez Perce (Sahaptian): stage 3**
- 9. Navaho-Dene (Athapaskan): stage 4**
- 10. Kiowa (Uto-Aztecan): stage 4**
- 11. Shoshone-Numa (Uto-Aztecan): stage 3**

12. Northern Paiute-Nevada/Pyramid Lake dialect (Uto-Aztecan): stage 2

13. Southern Paiute-Chemehuevi dialect (Uto-Aztecan): stage 5

All of the above languages are from cultures that did have interaction, to some extent, with each other.

Upon studying these differing cultures, I could not say that one was more complex than any other. The Lakota, Crow, Hidatsa, and Omaha all speak Siouian languages. To illustrate their social complexity, examples of differing *societies* within each of the cultures is presented below. These *societies* (within each culture) are warrior groups, policing groups, medicine organizations, and other groups with binding affiliations.

1. LAKOTA: Big Belly, White-horse Owner, Tall One, Kit-fox, Crow Owner, Brave Heart, Bare-lance Owner, White-marked, Omaha, Horse, Buffalo, Elk, Bear, Shirt-wearer, Sash-wearer, and Sacred Bow: 17 *societies*, stage 4
2. CROW: Lumpwood, Fox, Big Dog, Muddy Hand, Raven, Little Dog, Hammer, Bull, Hot Dancer, Crazy Dog, Tobacco, Bear Song, and Sacred Pipe Dance: 13 *societies*, stage 2
3. HIDATSA: Lumpwood, Stone Hammer, Notched Stick, Dog, Black Mouth, Half-shaved Head, Hot Dance, Kit Fox, Crow, Little Dog, Crazy Dog, Raven, and Buffalo Bull: 13 *societies*, stage 3
4. OMAHA: Thunder, Chief, Gatherer, Death, Mandan, Bear, Black Bear Pawnee, Buffalo, Horse, Wolf, Ghost, Storm, Honorary Chief, Hundred Gift, Shell, and Pebble: 16 *societies*, stage 4

Though the Lakota may have returned to a more paleo life-style, they seem to have not only retained the importance of the less inclusive terms (Specifics and Varietals), but increased the Life-Form terms to stage four. This may be due in fact to the Lakota returning to a more paleo life-style. By this I mean, the Lakota (most likely) had all four Life-Form terms encoded prior to their migration to the Plains. The “new” (big game hunting) life-style and being highly mobile may have intensified the bond between the Lakota and some animals that could have been lost to other languages that had encoded four Life-Form terms. With these findings, I do not feel that there is strong enough evidence, in this study, to support Brown’s hypothesis. Generally, globally, the hypothesis might have stronger support, but from this very limited sample it does not.

GENERIC, SPECIFIC, AND VARIETAL:

(includes residual taxa, maturation terms, and biological sex terms)

As stated above (Berlin, Breedlove, Raven 1973), the Generic ethnozoological category is the third most inclusive and directly follows the Life-Form category (only if a Life-Form is encoded for that animal grouping). Generics are also labeled by primary lexemes and may or may not be terminal. Also stated above

is then premise that Berlin's taxonomic model should be used as a rough outline. The model should be used as a very basic structure to begin with and modified for each language studied. Divergence from the basic model has already been noted by the inclusion of the six special purpose categories (see above). Some Generic and Residual (placed at the Generic level) taxa also show divergence from the basic model. The divergence typically entails the use of primary and secondary lexemes for naming terms.

RESIDUAL TAXA AT THE GENERIC LEVEL:

The terms *ziṇtkalato* (blue bird), *ziṇtkalasha* (red bird), *ziṇtkalazilachikala* (small yellow bird), and *ziṇtkalazila* (yellow bird) are all Residual taxa at the Generic level. Though the Lakota do (visually) recognize the differences in species (western tanager vs. common yellow throat vs. wilson's warbler vs. yellow warbler) the encoding for each has not been made. To verify this, I gave pictures of all four "yellow birds" to four separate consultants to identify. I repeated the task twice, for a total of eight consultants being questioned. All the birds were either referred to as *ziṇtkalazilachikala* or *ziṇtkalazila*. I also did this with the other above named Residual taxa. The only "yellow bird" that seems to have been encoded is *waṇblitaheya* (gold finch). I placed the above Residual taxa at the Generic level because the Lakota do (visually) recognize the difference between the separate species (the same way they recognize the differences between hawks and eagles), but the encoding for each separate species has not been made.

The term *wahpataṇka* (blackbird) is a Generic and not a Residual taxon. One reason for this is the direct translation. *Wahpataṇka* directly translates to "I fall down greatly". The direct translation of *ziṇtkalato* is "bird blue". The above mentioned Residual taxa are all named on the criterion of their color. *Wahpataṇka*'s basis for encoding is behavioral. The translation of *wahpataṇka* may seem strange to people not familiar with watching birds. To verify/validate some questions I had on Lakota nomenclature, two consultants and myself went out to observe differing animals. We did this on the Rosebud Reservation. Blackbirds were one of the animals we watched. To my amazement, the blackbirds did actually appear to be falling, in a rather ungraceful manner when they were landing. Just before they landed, they would "pull up" and then touched down very softly. Upon witnessing this, it was clear to me why *wahpataṇka* was so named by the Lakota. The other reason *wahpataṇka* is seen as a Generic and not a Residual taxa is that it has five Specific taxa

included within it (see data).

ENCODING DUE TO CULTURAL SALIENCE AND SPECIES DIVERSIFICATION:

The lack of encoding, for different species, included within the above Residual is in sharp contrast to many Generic taxa. Generics having a many Specific, Varietal, and Residual taxa included in them illustrate that the Lakota not only know these animals very well, but these animals have strong cultural meaning to the Lakota. Some Generics having many subtaxa are as follows: (see data for others)

1. chedaŋ (hawk): 11 Specifics and 4 Varietals
2. hiŋhaŋ (owl): 10 Specifics and 2 Varietals
3. kimimila (butterfly): 1 Specific and 7 Residual
4. shuŋka (dog): 7 Specifics, 4 Varietals, and 8 Residual
5. keya (turtle): 8 Specifics

Generics having many subtaxa definitely illustrate their cultural salience to the Lakota, but this does not necessarily mean they have more cultural significance than Generics with fewer (or no) subtaxa. The concept of species diversification also has to be addressed. Examples of animals with high species diversification are noted above (hawk, owl, butterfly etc.). Examples of animals, that have extreme cultural significance to the Lakota, with low species diversification are pte (bison), mato (bear), hehaka (elk), and hoka (badger).

COSMOLOGICAL VS. MORPHOLOGICAL AND MARKING CRITERIA FOR NAMING:

The Generic term iktomi (spider) not having any subtaxa is not based on the Lakota's lack of recognition or ignorance of the many differing types of spiders. Rather, it is the extreme reverence the Lakota have for the spider that stops them from doing so. Iktomi (spider) is possibly one of the most important and recognized figures in Lakota mythology. Though there are a large number of different species of spiders, within the traditional Lakota home range, the Lakota perceive all spiders to be the physical manifestation of the "trickster" spirit (Iktomi). Several consultants explained that Iktomi is a very powerful and jealous spirit. Assigning names to each physical manifestation would not only disrespect the spirit, but anger him as well. No one I know, in the Lakota community, would dare offend Iktomi. They feel the repercussions would be too great.

Waŋbli is the Lakota term for eagle. Waŋbli (eagle) is a Generic having three Specifics included within

it. These Specific taxa are waṇblisapa (black eagle), waṇblipeska (bald eagle), and waṇbligleshka (golden or spotted eagle). Waṇblisapa is rarely commented on outside of the ceremonial speech. This is due to its affiliation to the Thunderbeings of the West. Again, like Iktmoi, this is done out of respect and reverence for the creature. Waṇbligleshka (spotted eagle) is seen as having the closest relations to Wi (the sun) of all the animals for the Lakota. Though there is a taboo associated with talking about waṇblisapa, there is not one for waṇbligleshka. I had many long discussions with many consultants about the elevated position of waṇbligleshka. Waṇbligleshka is definitely seen as being more powerful and much more sought after than waṇblipeska. This may be due in part to both the size, frequentness, and life-styles of these two eagles. Golden eagles are not only larger than bald eagles but less common as well. Bald eagles are, primarily, fish eaters, while golden eagles (like the Lakota) primarily hunt terrestrial game. The cultural importance placed on the golden eagle does reflect the Lakota's ability to relate to its life-style. By closely analyzing waṇbligleshka, the Lakota have assigned special qualities to it and placed it above most other animals. The feathers of waṇbligleshka are seen as directly represent the rays of the sun. This is why the Lakota believe they are the most powerful feathers one could possess. Though the Lakota have attached a multitude of spiritual connotations to the golden eagle, the encoding of the term waṇbligleshka was derived from its markings and not from any special quality.

One of the Residual subtaxa included within the Generic term kimimila (butterfly) is wanagitakimimila (moth). Wanagitakimimila directly translates to "the night-spirit butterfly" or "the ghost butterfly". This denotes special quality because the Lakota see the moth as a very powerful and mysterious creature due to its nocturnal nature.

Conversely, the only subtaxa included within kimimila (butterfly) that is not a Residual taxa is kimimilagleshka (monarch butterfly). The direct translation of kimimilagleshka is "speckled butterfly", but this term only refers to the monarch butterfly. The term kimimilagleskka, like waṇbligleshka (golden or spotted eagle), may have been based its markings, but that does not mean it has any less spiritual significance to the Lakota. The powers of kimimilagleshka were and still are highly sought after by Lakota braves. Tataṇka Yotaṇka (Sitting Bull) was said to possess the powers of kimimilagleshka. These powers include; the ability to confuse one's enemies, invulnerability, and the ability to metamorphosize (shape-

shift). In one photograph of Sitting Bull (Fig. 14) he has a monarch butterfly pinned to his hat.

Tahcha is the Generic term for deer in Lakota. The most plentiful type of deer in the Lakota's home range is tahincha (mule deer). The term tahinchaidoptasapa refers to a genetic peculiarity, that as far as my consultants and I know, only occurs within and around Paha Sapa (the Black Hills of South Dakota). This genetic peculiarity manifests itself as a black streak across the deer's face. So, tahinchaidoptasapa is "a mule deer with a black streak across its face". Mule deer having this special marking are very highly prized by the Lakota. I interviewed five separate consultants about tahinchaidoptasapa. They all said this marking was not only very rare but only occurred among males of the species. The skins of these animals are only used for ceremonial purposes.

TYPE SPECIFICS AND TYPE VARIETALS:

There are a number of taxa that share the same term within their own grouping. These are referred to as either Type Specific or Type Varietal, depending on what ethnozoological category they are at. If a Specific taxon shares the exact term with the Generic it is included in, it is a Type Specific. If a Varietal shares the exact term with the Specific it is included in, it is a Type Varietal. Some examples of this are: (see data for complete listings)

1. pagonḡda = duck (G) and mallard duck (TS)
2. shiyo = grouse (G) and prairie chicken (TS)
3. toskala = woodpecker (G) and downy woodpecker (TS) and hairy woodpecker (TV)
4. shkecha = weasel (G) and mink (TS)

When I questioned consultants about this they seemed a bit puzzled. The general response was that these were the most common type of that kind of animal. They also commented on the spiritual aspect of certain animals having the same names. The Lakota believe that whether the animals, within a grouping, have the same name or not makes little difference. One consultant explained this to me by saying, "Mallard, pintail, canvasback, it doesn't matter. They all have the same spirit.". The outward or physical manifestation of the animal takes a secondary role to the archetypical spirit of the group of animals in question. Though the consultant who said this is a respected elder, his statement seemed to conflict (to a certain degree) with information other consultants gave me. When I asked him about this, he said I was perceiving what he had said wrongly. He explained that though individual animals, within a certain group

may have certain powers, their true powers come from the archetypical spirit that it is a manifestation of. In other words, a mink may exhibit certain qualities or powers, but these powers are only within the broader scope of the weasel's powers. Likewise, a black-footed ferret may have certain different powers than a mink does, but both derive these powers from the weasel.

RESIDUAL TAXA AT THE SPECIFIC LEVEL:

The three Generic terms kimimila (butterfly), tuswecha (dragonfly) and gnugnushka (grasshopper) all have Residual taxa, at the Specific level, included in them. These Residual taxa include a multitude of differing species, primarily lumped together by the criteria of either size or coloring.

Kimimila (butterfly) has only one Specific taxa. Its other seven subtaxa are all Residual. For a complete list of these Residual taxa refer back to the data. These Residual taxa encompass a number of different species. Examples of kimimilasha (reddish or orange butterfly) include the following species;

1. harris' checkerspot
2. great spangled fritillary
3. pearl crescent
4. question mark
5. american cooper
6. milbert's tortoise shell
7. red admiral
8. american painted lady

The Generic term tuswecha (dragonfly) has four Residual taxa within it. As stated above, these Residual taxa encompass a number of different species. For a complete listing, refer back to the data. Examples of tuswechato (blue dragonfly) include the following species;

1. green darner
2. white tail
3. swift long-winged skimmer
4. violet tail
5. short-stalked damselfly
6. doubleday's bluet
7. circumpolar bluet

The Generic term for grasshopper, in Lakota, is gnugnushka. The Residual taxa included within this Generic ethnozoological category demonstrate the close attention the Lakota pay to even some of the smallest animals. The major separation for different grasshoppers is based on the color of their inner wings (either black, red, or yellow). This inner wing coloration may be genetic to some species, but it can also vary in relation to the types and qualities of vegetation consumed by the grasshopper. Several consultants

commented on certain years there were only grasshoppers with yellow inner wings to be found.

BIOLOGICAL SEX TERMS AND MATURATION TERMS:

Biological sex terms are those terms that distinguish maleness from femaleness within a species. Though the Lakota do not encode all animals in this fashion, there are two that I will comment on. Pte is the Lakota term for american bison (buffalo). The same term refers to the female of the species, but not the male. This name differentiation was explained to me by a group of older consultants. The basis for the separate encoding of females and males has to do with the social structure of the bison. This social structure, the bison practiced, was mimicked (to an extent) by the Lakota People. One consultant commented, "If you look at the buffalo, you can see that the old ladies run the show.". The same was the case for the traditional Lakota camp. The older women ran the day-to-day going ons for the camps and were the proverbial "glue" that held the People together. The males, in traditional Lakota society, were the protectors and hunters. The encoding of the same term for both bison in general and the females of the species is not to de-emphasize the females. Rather, it recognizes the importance of the females and places them as the fundamental base for that species.

Tataŋka is the Lakota term for bull bison. The bull bison are seen to be very much like the Lakota males. The males help in protection and procreation. This linguistic dichotomy, for female and male bison, is just one example of how the Lakota place this animal at an elevated level culturally. The special attention to pte (bison) has to do with how dependant the Lakota People were on this animal in the past. Pte are the most important of all the animals to the Lakota. Every altar for every ceremony the Lakota perform includes a bison skull. Also, it was the White Buffalo Calf Maiden that brought the sacred chanunpa (sacred pipe) to the Lakota People on behalf of the Pte Oyade (Buffalo Nation). The original Sacred Calf Pipe is still in existence and kept in a sacred place to the North at Green Grass, on the Cheyenne River Reservation. The Pipe and the offering of kniknik (red willow bark) and tobacco are still used in the same manner it was taught to the Lakota by the White Buffalo Calf Maiden. The chanunpa is central to all the Lakota ceremonies and it was a gift from the Pte Oyade to the Lakota.

Another example of male and female encoding dichotomy is seen in the terms hahaka (bull elk) and unpaŋ (female elk). Cosmologically, the Lakota see the elk as a purely masculine manifestation. The

Lakota believe hahaka to possess many powers, but the most sought after is the power over females. The bugle of the male of the species is said to be irresistible to the females. Many young men in Lakota society make "elk whistles" (Fig. 15) to attract a mate. Also a proper "pipe bag" (one that a chanunpa is kept in) should be made of elk skin, for it symbolizes love. In Lakota society, one who dreams of elks is a very blessed individual and in traditional times was a member of the Elk Dreamer's *Society* (Fig. 16). The concepts of permanence and longevity are also attributed to the elk. The tooth of an elk can imbue the wearer with all of these qualities. The cultural salience of the elk, in the Lakota culture, is very possibly the major factor in the separate terms encoded for the male and female of the species.

Maturation terms are terms that designate different life stages of animals. For clarification, see data.

COLOR, SIZE AND PATTERNING:

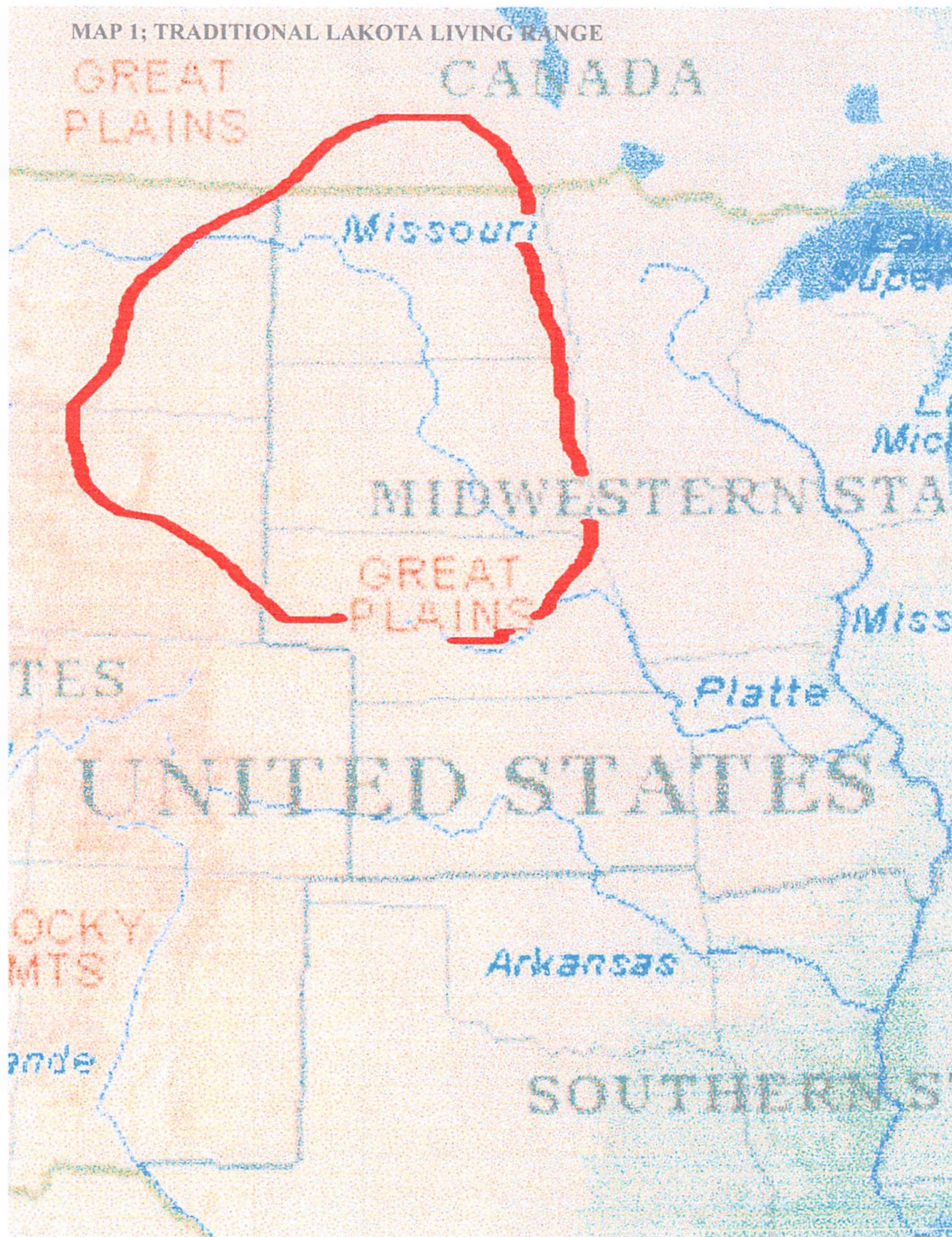
According to Brown (1984), the factors influencing naming behaviors are conjunctivity, dimension salience, and criteria clustering. In regards to this study, I would agree with Brown. As the data clearly illustrates, color terms (to = blue, sha = red, hota = gray, zi = yellow etc.) play a major role in the naming of animals. Also patterning (gleshka = spotted or speckled) is used to differentiate many terms. In regards to dimension salience, the terms tan̄ka (large) and chikala (small) are often utilized. Finally, behavioral recognition is also used to distinguish differing terms. An example of this would be makaowan̄ke (bobolink). The direct translation of which is "nests on the ground".

CONCLUSION:

The Lakota name animals out of both intellectual curiosity and utilitarian reasons. The Unique Beginner, for the Lakota zoological folk taxonomy is wamakashkan ("all things that move upon the Earth"). The Lakota recognize a fundamental separation between animate and breathing objects (animals) and those that are not animate and do not breath (plants and non-organics). There are five main categories the Lakota separate their zoological world into. These are the Winged People, Fourlegged People, Crawling People, Swimming People, and Twolegged People. The four recognized Life-Form categories are bird, fish, snake, and insect. The number of Specific and Varietal taxa included within a Generic taxon is related to the

cultural significance of the species in question. But, in regards to the last statement, the concept of species diversification must be accounted for. Also, the Lakota use Type Specific and Type Varietal terms within an animal grouping to illustrate the commonness of the animals in question. Biological sex terms and maturation terms are used for further clarification and to show cultural salience. The concepts of conjunctivity, dimension salience, and criteria clustering are the basis for much of the encoding process. Finally, one cannot separate the biological world from the cosmological world, for the Lakota, in regards to how they name and classify their zoological world.

MAP 1; TRADITIONAL LAKOTA LIVING RANGE



Contemporary Sioux Reservations

Fort Peck
(occupied by Sioux
and other tribes)

MONTANA

NORTH DAKOTA

**Standing
Rock**

**Cheyenne
River**

SOUTH
DAKOTA

Bear Butte •

Rapid City •

Custer • Mount
Rushmore

• Pierre

**Lower
Brûlé**

Cr
Cr

WYOMING

Wounded Knee
Pine Ridge •

Pine Ridge

• Martin

Rosebud

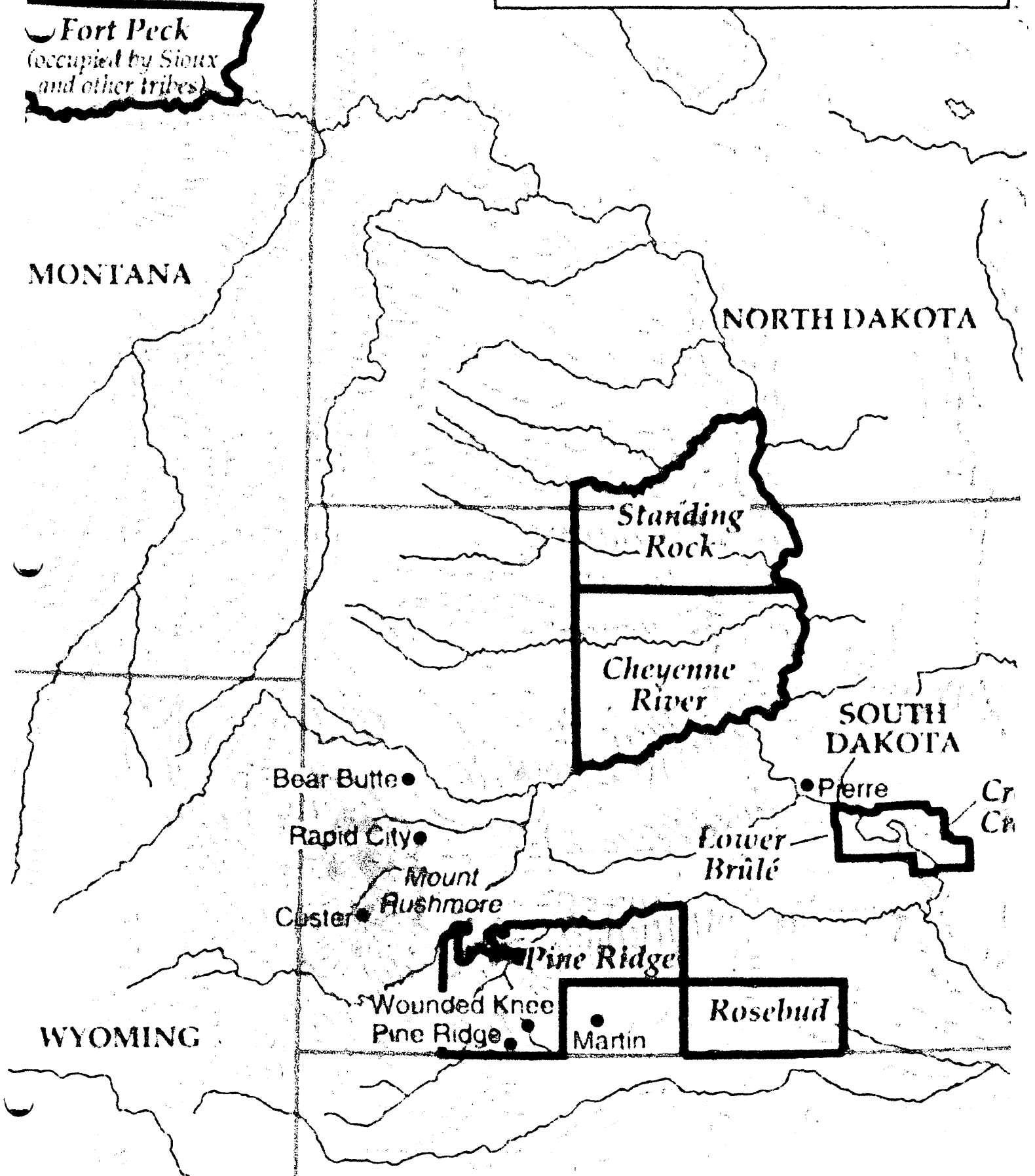


Fig. 1; Chief Red Cloud



Fig. 2;
Chief Sitting Bull



Fig. 3;
Chief Gall





Fig. 4;
Chief Big Foot

Fig. 5; Chief American Horse



Fig. 6; Chief Black Elk



Fig. 7; Chief Leonard Crow Dog as a young man entering the vision pit



Fig. 8, Chief Spotted Tail





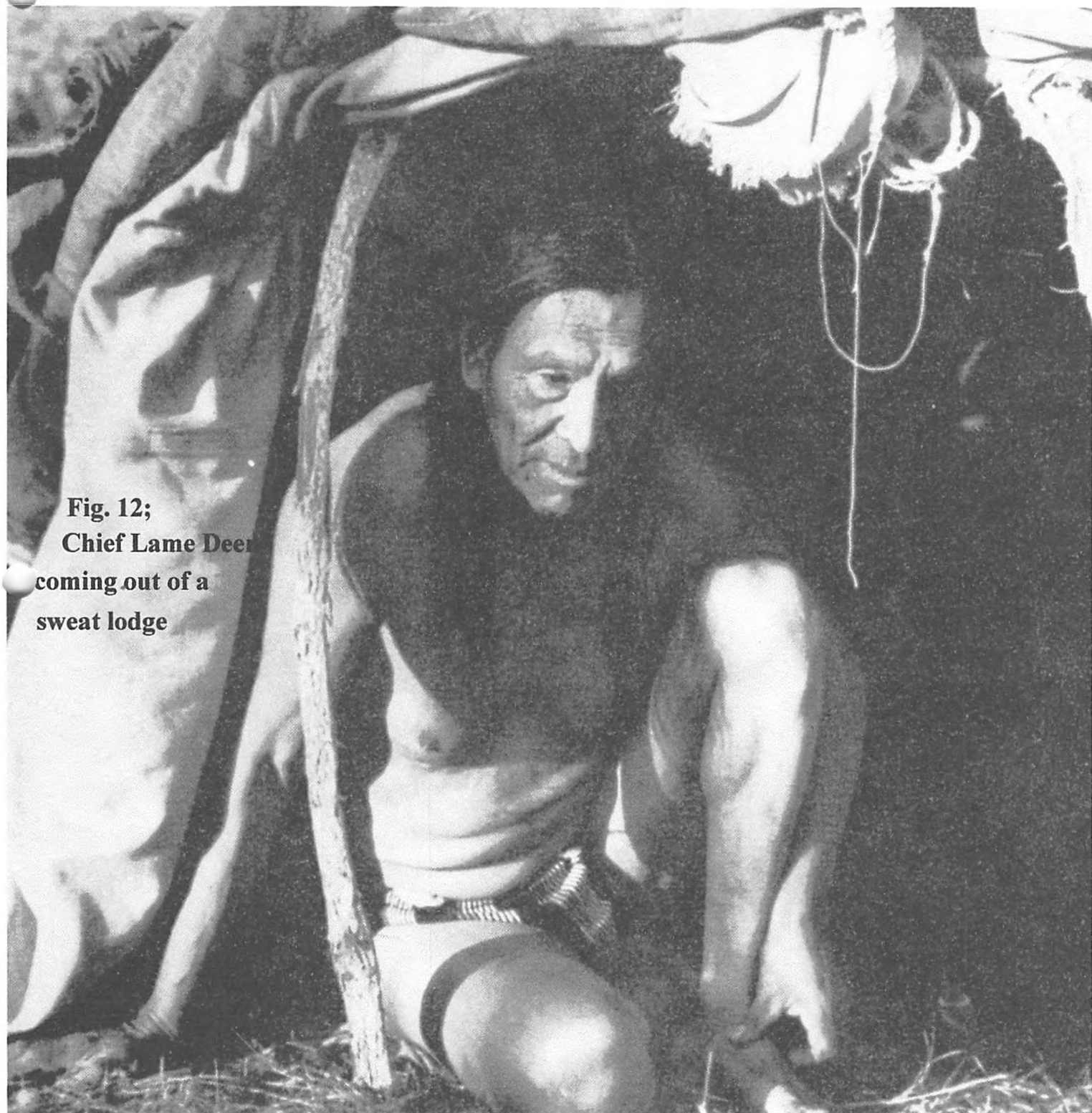
Fig. 9;
Chief Lame Deer



Fig. 10;
Chief Fools Crow

Fig. 11; Dancing in the Sundance





**Fig. 12;
Chief Lama Deer
coming out of a
sweat lodge**



**Fig. 13;
Chief Lame Deer
and his chanunpa**

fig. 14

Chief Sitting Bull
with monarch butterfly
pinned to his hat





Fig. 15

An elk-head whistle.

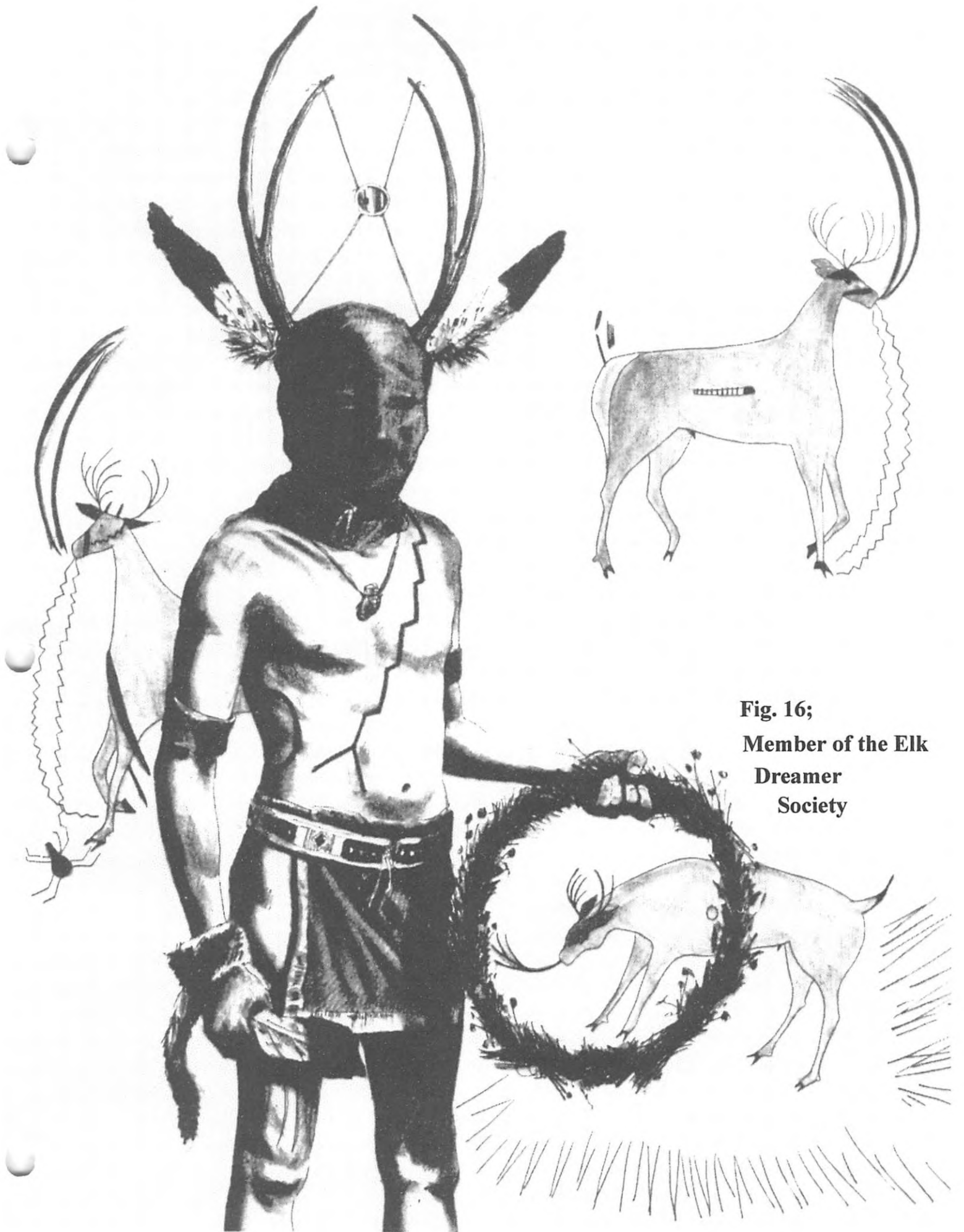


Fig. 16;
Member of the Elk
Dreamer
Society

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